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Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

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Tuesday, 8 June 2004, 4.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. de La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

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04-38068 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. al-Estrabadi (Iraq) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2004/461, which contains the text of a letter dated 7 June 2004 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2004/460, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Romania, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Germany, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1546 (2004).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): With today's vote we acknowledge an important milestone. By 30 June Iraq will reassert its sovereignty, a step forward on the path towards a democratically elected Government.

The unanimous passage of resolution 1546 (2004) is a vivid demonstration of broad international support for — and I quote from the text — "a federal, democratic, pluralist and unified Iraq, in which there is full respect for political and human rights".

Yesterday in this Chamber, Special Envoy Lakhdar Brahimi briefed the Council on the formation of Iraq's interim Government. The interim Government will pave the way for national elections for a transitional national assembly, to be held no later than January 2005.

Resolution 1546 (2004) defines the key political tasks in which the United Nations will play a leading and vital role to support Iraqi efforts. This resolution makes clear that Iraq's sovereignty will be undiluted and that the Government of Iraq will have the sovereign authority to request and to decline assistance, including in the security sector. The Government of Iraq will have the final say on the presence of the multinational force.

The resolution also addresses the current security reality and affirms the security structures and mechanisms warranted at this time. The annexed letters from Prime Minister Alawi and Secretary Powell describe the security partnership that is being put into place between the sovereign Government of Iraq and the multinational force.

The international community now has a renewed opportunity to help the people of Iraq and their sovereign Government. Undeterred by Saddam Hussein's legacy of many years of oppression and war, the Iraqi people are determined to create a new reality.

International assistance can and should enhance their prospects for success. The resolution calls on the international community to join those already helping the talented people of Iraq. Member States should not delay in matching advice with concrete assistance. As President Bush has said, "Free Iraq deserves the full support of the international community."

The constructive dialogue through which this text was developed and which led to the Council's unanimous vote today, should mark strengthened international resolve to work together for a democratic, secure and prosperous Iraq and for the lasting and permanent benefit of its people.

Sir Emyr Jones-Parry (United Kingdom): Today's resolution marks a defining moment for Iraq. The Security Council has powerfully endorsed the formation of a sovereign interim Government, which by 30 June will assume full responsibility and authority for governing Iraq. It is a crucial phase in Iraq's transition to full democracy. The resolution gives this Government the best possible start as it leads Iraq out of occupation and proves itself to the Iraqi people through its actions.

The promise is great: a stable, federal, democratic, pluralistic and unified Iraq in which there is full respect for human rights, a stark contrast to the past. Thanks to the tireless efforts of Lakhdar Brahimi and his team, the Iraqi people now have a competent, professional and broad-based Government that can help them realize that goal.

We appreciate the constructive discussions that have marked these negotiations and have contributed to the resolution unanimously adopted today. In particular, I want to underline the productive consultations with the incoming Iraqi interim Government. The people of Iraq were rightly our most important constituency.

The resolution makes an important contribution to Iraq's development. As well as endorsing the formation of the interim Government, it sets a clear path for the future political process, which will end with elections on the basis of a constitution approved by the Iraqi people. It gives the United Nations a leading role, as circumstances permit, to assist the Iraqi people in that process. It encourages the international community to assist Iraq's reconstruction, including by working towards a sustainable reduction of Iraq's debt burden. Also, on the basis of the Iraqi Government's request for the multinational force to remain in Iraq, the resolution authorizes its continued presence. The sovereign Government will be able to require a review of that multinational force or its termination. The resolution, including the annexed letters, also sets out the full partnership between the Iraqi Government and the multinational force.

That relationship between the Iraqi Government and the multinational force was undeniably the most complex issue in this negotiation. The resulting arrangements, stemming from discussion with the incoming interim Government, make clear that the Iraqi security forces, including armed forces, will be responsible to Iraqi ministers. An Iraqi-led forum will set the broad Iraqi security policy framework. National, regional and local coordination mechanisms will ensure unified command for those operations to which the Iraqi Government commits its troops. It will be for the Iraqi Government to make that commitment. The aim will be agreement on the full range of fundamental security and policy issues, including policy on sensitive operations.

The United Kingdom, as a member of the multinational force, stands ready to participate fully in these arrangements. We are committed to playing our part towards building security and stability in Iraq for as long as needed and as long as the Iraqi Government wishes. We are also determined to support Iraqi efforts to progressively take on responsibility for their own security.

The Iraqi Government and the Iraqi people will need our support as they take forward an inclusive political process, rebuild their economy and work to restore security, defeating those who would rather throw Iraq into violence and chaos. As Lakhdar Brahimi said yesterday:

> "Iraq needs the clear and united support of its neighbours. Iraq needs the generosity of its creditors. Iraq needs the patient, strong and sustained support of this body, the Security Council, and that of the United Nations as a whole" (S/PV.4984, p. 9).

I hope this resolution will mark not only the full reassertion of Iraqi sovereignty but also a renewed determination on the part of all members of the international community to assist the Iraqi people and Government as they work towards the successful future which they deserve.

Mr. Baali (Algeria): I will start my statement by paying a special and well-deserved tribute to my countryman Lakhdar Brahimi, without whom no resolution on Iraq would have been contemplated, let alone adopted.

The adoption of the resolution on Iraq constitutes an historic moment for the proud Iraqi people, who after thirty years of dictatorship and fifteen months of foreign occupation will, *inshallah*, recover, by 30 June, their independence, their sovereignty and their dignity. This resolution also marks a new chapter for the Iraqi people in their legitimate quest for stability, prosperity and democracy.

Yet the future remains loaded with dangers and uncertainties and the resolution we just adopted is not aimed at — or capable of — eliminating all uncertainties and all dangers. In fact, the challenges the Iraqi people are facing are formidable, and it is indeed up to them and to the Government that will lead the country until legitimate institutions are elected to make the political transition work and to make their dream of a free and democratic Iraq come true.

Until that day happens, and for it to happen, Iraq will have to work hard to create the necessary conditions for its people to live in peace and security, to put together a credible and self-reliant army to protect it from internal and external threats, to develop a genuine democratic process that would benefit all Iraqis, and to use the remarkable human and natural resources that make that country so unique to rebuild an economy ravaged by years of war, sanctions and neglect and to restore hope and confidence to the Iraqi people.

The most daunting and pressing priority for the leadership of Iraq will be, evidently, to do its utmost to reduce the level of violence and to bring peace and stability to the country. In this regard, I must emphasize that insecurity cannot be solved through military means alone and I would like therefore to join my voice to the appeal made by Mr. Brahimi yesterday to the Iraqi Government to reach out to those who have been vocal critics of the past year's process. In this context, the national conference constitutes the ideal forum to promote a meaningful dialogue and a true and national reconciliation and to build a strong consensus on Iraq's political future.

While not perfect, the resolution we have just adopted is undoubtedly the best we could get under the present circumstances and is indeed a well-balanced text which, among other things, manages to reconcile two extremes: the concept of the sovereignty of Iraq, which had to be totally restored and reasserted beyond any doubt or limitation, and the necessity of maintaining on Iraqi soil the presence of an effective and fully operational multinational force requested and invited by a Government-in-waiting that has not yet assumed its responsibilities and which, given the circumstances, had yet to make dramatic decisions.

My delegation is particularly grateful to the sponsors for having responded constructively and positively to four crucial demands that my delegation had put forward at the very beginning of the negotiations, namely, first, that full and undiminished sovereignty be restored to Iraq; secondly, that the Government of Iraq exercise full authority and responsibility in governing Iraq, including on security issues and over its financial and natural resources; thirdly, that all armed Iraqi and security forces be placed under the sole authority of the Iraqi Government; and, fourthly, that the consent of the Iraqi Government be required in respect to sensitive military operations carried out by the multinational force, as well as regarding the engagement of its own forces in multinational force operations.

Yet our task is not over. This is certainly the beginning of a long and perilous journey for the Iraqi people. There is also a long way to go for this Council, which has to remain fully engaged to ensure that the resolution it has unanimously adopted is properly implemented, that the will of the Iraqi people is fully respected, that the United Nations is fulfilling its leading mandate in optimal security conditions, and that the political transitional process which the Council has endorsed will indeed lead to a fully sovereign, free, stable and democratic Iraq — an Iraq at peace with itself and with its neighbours and capable once more of making history.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Pakistan voted in favour of resolution 1546 (2004), which has just been adopted unanimously by the Security Council.

The people of Iraq suffered for decades under an oppressive regime, endured several wars initiated by that regime, was pauperised by prolonged international economic sanctions and then traumatized by another war. This resolution is designed, in our view, to prepare the way for Iraq to embark on a new era of security,

stability, peace and prosperity. It should mark a new beginning for Iraq and its people.

It is Pakistan's hope that the adoption of this resolution will enable the Iraqi people to fully regain their sovereignty and full control over their own destiny; promote security and stability in Iraq and preserve its unity and territorial integrity; and promote the reconstruction of its shattered economy and revive its potential for economic growth and prosperity.

The text of the resolution just adopted by the Security Council underwent substantial transformation before becoming acceptable to all the members of the Council, including Pakistan. We commend the sponsors for the flexibility they demonstrated in the negotiating process. We are glad that most of the suggestions for changes in the resolution proposed by Pakistan were accommodated in the draft by the sponsors. These included, first, the transfer of full authority and sovereignty to Iraq and full control by the Iraqi people of their natural resources; second, an affirmation of the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Iraq; third, respect for the primacy of the wishes and desires of the Iraqi people; fourth, Iraq's control of its own security forces, which will progressively assume full responsibility for its security; fifth, the presence of the multinational force at the request of the Iraqi Government and the creation of a coordination mechanism between the Iraqi Government and the multinational force on security policy and operations; sixth, adherence by all concerned to the principles of international humanitarian law; and seventh, respect for Iraq's cultural, archeological and religious shrines, which are among the most sacred in the Islamic world.

The resolution affirms that the United Nations must play a leading role in promoting the implementation of the processes envisaged therein. The Secretary-General has indeed remained personally engaged in the diplomatic and humanitarian efforts of the United Nations, even after 17 August 2003. The endeavours of Mr. Brahimi have been outstanding and he has again performed a most difficult diplomatic feat in difficult circumstances.

We view this resolution as the most significant step since the first Gulf War towards the full normalization of the situation in Iraq. It endorses the presence of the multinational force at this time as a means of restoring peace and security in Iraq. It indicates a timetable for establishing an elected Government and a programme to end the mandate of the multinational force. However, the security environment in Iraq remains volatile and unstable. We must all trust and hope that, following the transfer of sovereignty, the security environment will improve significantly.

As indicated by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, the problem of insecurity cannot be solved through military means alone. Political solutions and accommodations are required to achieve security and stability in that country. We hope that the interim Government will benefit from the international support expressed through this resolution to broaden political consensus in the country and to make all necessary efforts — as Mr. Brahimi has remarked — to bring all groups under the tent. We also hope that all Iraqis will respond to the efforts of the interim Government to broaden the political consensus and stabilize the security environment in their country.

Peace and stability in Iraq will no doubt reinforce stability in the region. Continued instability in Iraq, on the other hand, is likely to have an adverse impact on the security environment of the region as a whole and beyond. As a regional State, Pakistan looks forward to an Iraq at peace with itself and with its neighbours. We believe that the support of Iraq's immediate neighbours and of the Arab and Islamic countries for Iraq's security and stability will be an important component in realizing the political, security and economic goals set out in this resolution.

In a recent telephone call he received from Prime Minister Allawi, President Musharraf congratulated him and assured him of Pakistan's full support and cooperation in the reconstruction of Iraq. We fully support the aspirations of the Iraqi people. We are prepared to help them realize those aspirations in accordance with their national priorities and in accordance with their freely expressed wishes.

Mr. Wang Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Today is an important day for the people of Iraq and for the United Nations. Resolution 1546 (2004), which the Security Council has just adopted unanimously, is a milestone marking the end of the past and the beginning of the future. It will prove to be a historic turning point in the Iraqi political process and turns a new page in the relationship between the United Nations and Iraq. It will help promote stability and

development in Iraq and will further strengthen the authority and the role of the Security Council.

The people of Iraq are industrious and talented, and they have made brilliant contributions to human civilization. But for more than a decade they have suffered from the misery of war, sanctions and turbulence. They yearn for democracy, peace and a new life, under restored sovereignty. There is no doubt that the resolution the Security Council has adopted today lays the foundation for the early fulfilment of those aspirations of the Iraqi people. The resolution endorses the formation of the interim Government of Iraq, reaffirms the right of the Iraqi people freely to determine their own political future and to exercise control over their financial and natural resources, and reaffirms the principle of Iraq's reassertion of full sovereignty. It demonstrates the commitment of the international community to assist in the completion of the Iraqi political process.

With the adoption of this resolution, we look forward to 30 June, when the Iraqi people will reassert full sovereignty and when Iraq will return to the family of nations. We sincerely hope that, with broad support from the Iraqi people and with the unstinting help of the international community, the Iraqi interim Government, in keeping with its obligations, will expeditiously take measures to stabilize the security situation, promote national reconciliation and hold free and fair elections on schedule. We are convinced that, with the end of the occupation and the transfer of sovereignty, the great Iraqi people will make unremitting efforts to overcome all obstacles in their way, return as soon as possible to their path to peace, democracy and development and make new contributions to regional peace and stability and to the advancement of civilization.

For more than 10 years, Iraq has been a constant focus of Security Council attention. The Council has adopted more than 70 resolutions on that question. In the process of reaching an appropriate settlement of the question of Iraq, there have been times of close cooperation, as well as times of deep division among Council members. We are pleased that the Security Council stands unified once again in response to the appeals of the Iraqi people. The present resolution is the result of joint efforts by all Council members, who actively participated in the consultations and searched for consensus in a constructive spirit and with a pragmatic and cooperative approach.

China is gratified that many proposals offered by members of the Council, including China, were taken into account in the final text of the resolution — which, in giving expression to the principles of Iraqi sovereignty and of the need for the people of Iraq to manage their own affairs, is a significant improvement on previous versions. Moreover, the resolution will transform the relationship between the United Nations and Iraq into one between partners with shared objectives. Iraq will resume its place in the United Nations on an equal footing. For its part, the United Nations will continue to make ever greater contributions to the Iraqi people. I take this opportunity to thank Secretary-General Annan, Ambassador Brahimi and all the other United Nations staff members who have worked assiduously to that end.

The debate on the question of Iraq and the way it has been handled over the past year may have helped us understand that, in the current complex international situation, the resolution of major international issues requires collective wisdom, enhanced international cooperation and a role for the United Nations and the Security Council. That is an imperative of history and of reality, and it is the international community's only viable option.

The Government and the people of China have always closely followed developments in the Iraqi situation. We have always advocated the maintenance of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Iraq and an appropriate resolution of the question of Iraq on the basis of Security Council resolutions and through political means. The hearts of the peoples of China and Iraq have always been joined together. We deeply sympathize with the people of Iraq with regard to the suffering they have experienced as a result of sanctions and war, and we have provided them with assistance to the best of our ability.

As always, the Chinese Government will firmly support the political process and the major role of the United Nations, pursuant to the resolutions of the Security Council. China looks forward to friendly cooperation on all fronts with the Iraqi interim Government and with the future elected Government. We stand ready to participate actively in Iraq's economic reconstruction, and to contribute to the building of a better Iraq.

Resolution 1546 (2004) marks a new beginning both for the Security Council and for Iraq. There is no

denying that implementation of the resolution will be fraught with difficulties and challenges. The task facing the Iraqi interim Government is demanding and the road ahead is long. But China believes that, so long as all parties put the Iraqi people's interests first and truly respect Iraq's assumption and exercise of full power, implementation of the resolution will undoubtedly help improve the security situation in Iraq, advance the Iraqi political process and promote post-war reconstruction in Iraq.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): France voted in favour of resolution 1546 (2004), which the Council has just adopted unanimously. My country approached the discussion of this resolution with three goals for the Iraqi people and for the United Nations: first, to ensure that after 30 June the Iraqi interim Government will have all the attributes of sovereignty and complete authority to govern the country, in spite of the need to maintain a very large foreign military presence; secondly, to give the Iraqi people credible assurances that the political process is continuing and that the presence of foreign troops is temporary and limited in time, in order to clarify the political outlook of the Iraqi people and to assure them that the coming transition period will end as soon as possible; and, finally, to entrust to the United Nations a mandate which guarantees the credibility of the Organization and which is realistic in the light of what it can do in the present circumstances in Iraq.

The first two elements are, in our opinion, essential for the Iraqis to support the current political process and for them have confidence in the new Iraqi Government. The third enables the role of the United Nations in the settlement of crises to be preserved and, to the extent possible, ensures the security of those who will act on behalf of the Organization in the field.

From the first informal consultations in the Security Council, France had emphasized the importance it attached to the mandate that the Council would entrust to the United Nations and to the legal framework for the action of the multinational force. On the first point, the aim was to allow the Iraqis to take maximum advantage of United Nations expertise in extending the activities of Mr. Brahimi and Ms. Perelli — to whom we pay tribute — while taking the security conditions into account. On the second point, the aim was to take into account the change resulting from the restoration of Iraqi sovereignty to retool the mandate of the multinational force while spelling it out clearly within the framework of international law.

Throughout the negotiations, France was both demanding, because the stakes are considerable, and constructive, because we believe that the unity of the international community is needed more than ever before. On many points, the final text meets the demands sought in the French and German proposed amendments. Accordingly, first of all, the interim Iraqi Government will have complete responsibility and authority to govern the country. Several provisions of the draft resolution were adjusted to comply with that principle, particularly those on the control of the Iraqi armed forces and security forces, the coordination of international aid, the use of the country's natural resources and the conditions for making foreign advisers available.

Secondly, the various stages of the political process are endorsed by the resolution, particularly the timetable for elections and for the end of the transition, no later than the end of 2005. We already know that the organization of the national conference planned for July by Mr. Brahimi and, above all, the holding of the elections no later than in January 2005 will be crucial. Those elections must be organized freely and democratically and must permit all Iraqis to vote. In that context, we are pleased that the future interim Iraqi Government will continue to enjoy the support of the United Nations within the framework of the clear mandate, adapted to circumstances, provided for in the resolution.

Thirdly, the sovereign Government may at any time ask that the mandate of the multinational force be revised or that it end, and such a request will be binding on the Security Council. Moreover, the mandate is limited in time: it will be re-examined within 12 months, and in all likelihood it will end at the end of the political transition, whose expiration date — 31 December 2005 — is explicitly mentioned. Until then, the multinational force and the Iraqi forces must act in accordance with international law, particularly the law of armed conflict.

Finally, the resolution states clearly that, from this point on, the Iraqi armed forces and security forces will not be part of the multinational force. They are to be placed under the sole authority of the Iraqi Government, which will have to decide whether to

commit them — if it deems it necessary or desirable to do so — to multinational force operations.

France had insisted on those last two points so that the relationship between the interim Government and the multinational force would reflect the sovereignty that the Iraqi interim Government will have after 1 July. We note that our wishes have been largely taken into account, for which we thank the sponsors.

However, with regard to the implementation of the multinational force's mandate — particularly the conditions of engagement in the event of sensitive offensive operations — the resolution indicates that the interim Government and the multinational force will have to reach an agreement, but it does not specify what would happen in the event of disagreement. That is why France would have preferred that the text state that the Iraqi interim Government, sovereign in the territory of Iraq, would have the final say in such a case. As that provision was not explicitly requested by the Iraqi leaders, France was satisfied at the final adjustment made to paragraph 11 of the provision. Moreover, France cannot imagine that the multinational force would go against the opinion of Iraq's sovereign Government.

With regard to the aid that regional organizations might provide to the stabilization of Iraq, France would like the decision-making autonomy of such organizations to be preserved within their own executive bodies. A member of several regional organizations itself, France will make a decision, if it is necessary, when the time comes. Furthermore, it is natural, as the text says, that the agreement of the Iraqi Government be sought.

All in all, today the Security Council has assumed its share of responsibility. It has done so by taking into account the demands presented by the Iraqi interim Government, within the limits the Government had set for them. It will be up to that Government — which we hope will succeed and with which we are prepared to work — to win the Iraqi people's confidence through its capacity to govern fully in complete independence. That is our wish, for the stability of Iraq and of the region depends on it.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): Permit me at the outset to pay special tribute to the tireless efforts of Lakhdar Brahimi and his team. Their idealism and their political skills have been instrumental in the formation of the new interim Government of Iraq.

Germany welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 1546 (2004). As a result of proposals and amendments made by various Security Council members — including the French and German amendments, which have to a large extent been included in the resolution — and as a result of suggestions made by the Iraqi side, and thanks to the sponsors' constructive and flexible approach in the course of the negotiations, the text was substantially improved throughout the negotiation process.

Germany supports this resolution as an important step towards the restoration of the full sovereignty of the Iraqi interim Government in all relevant areas and towards Iraqi ownership. In particular, we do so in view of the clarifications with regard to the security partnership between the interim Government of Iraq and the multinational force, as spelled out in the body of the resolution and in the letters of Prime Minister Allawi and of Secretary of State Powell addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is now of crucial importance that the resolution be implemented in Iraq with unequivocal respect for the full sovereignty of Iraq. Regional and international support for the Iraqi people is also essential. It is in that spirit that Germany stands ready to cooperate with the new Iraqi authorities in order to assist the people of Iraq in the political and economic reconstruction of their country.

Mr. Konuzin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Today, the Security Council has adopted a new resolution on Iraq that will become an important milestone in that country's history. The Russian Federation supported the adoption of this resolution in the light of our commitment to a prompt political settlement of the situation in Iraq under United Nations auspices and in order to normalize the situation in the entire region. During the complex process of negotiating a text and in the intense diplomatic contacts, we managed to work out a decision culminating in the cessation of Iraq's military occupation and the transfer of full sovereignty from the coalition authorities to the Iraqi interim Government. Now we have the prospect of enhancing the contribution of the United Nations in promoting organized civilian life and in developing the political process in Iraq on a democratic basis.

The resolution unequivocally confirms the right of the Iraqi people to determine their own political future and to control their national resources. The interim Government is endowed with full sovereignty on matters of governance, including command over its national army and its police.

We welcome the inclusion in the resolution of provisions in support of reintegrating opposition elements into Iraqi society and of the need for all parties to comply with international humanitarian and human rights norms. It is important that there be a specific timeline for the political process. National elections are scheduled to take place in Iraq by January 2005, following which a sovereign Transitional Government will be formed.

International and regional assistance is of key significance to the restoration process in Iraq. Given the importance of lending legitimacy to Transitional Government structures in Iraq, Russia, prior to the adoption of this resolution, suggested that an international conference be convened, with the participation of all influential Iraqi political forces, neighbouring States and members of the Security Council.

Our proposal is still valid. We call on the leadership of Iraq to take a very serious look at the possibility of convening this type of meeting. It was an important principle that all provisions of the resolution should be adopted on the basis of relevant requests made by the interim Government, in particular concerning the deployment in the country of the multinational force and international assistance for the political process, with the United Nations playing a leading role.

Under the resolution, the United Nations must meet some serious challenges in Iraq. The Organization must play an important role, for example, in providing assistance to the new Iraqi authorities in the run-up to the elections and in the drafting of a permanent constitution.

Of course, the United Nations can meet the challenges in that country only if an adequate level of security is provided. One of the key elements in this resolution is an agreement on the mandate of the multinational forces remaining in Iraq at the request of the interim Government. The mandate of those forces is clearly linked to the political tasks of the transitional period, and the length of their stay in the country could be reduced upon the request of the Iraqi leadership. It is clearly articulated that their presence in the country is at the request of the interim Government of Iraq and that their function is to provide security during the transitional period.

It is important that a coordination mechanism be developed between the new Iraqi leadership and the command of the multinational force that will not infringe on the sovereignty of the interim Government. We believe that, as set forth in the letters from United States Secretary of State Powell and from the Prime Minister of the interim Government of Iraq, Mr. Allawi, all the work of the multinational force should be done with the agreement of the sovereign Iraqi authorities.

The resolution calls for quarterly reports from the United States, on behalf of the multinational force, in conjunction with reports from the Secretary-General, which will ensure ongoing oversight by the Security Council over the process of political settlement and restoration in Iraq.

The resolution confirms the need for a final clarification of issues related to proscribed Iraqi military programmes. Given the fact that the problem of weapons of mass destruction was the reason for starting the war against Iraq, it cannot be left unattended. We expect that, in the very near future, the Security Council will begin work on adapting the mandates of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission and of the International Atomic Energy Agency to these new conditions. We hope that the interim Government will actively cooperate with the international inspection machinery.

The Security Council has also endowed the interim Government with economic sovereignty within the transitional period. In that context, we would like to emphasize the need to ensure a transparent and equitable approach to the use of monies from the Development Fund for Iraq as well as strict compliance by all parties with their obligations under prioritized contracts, within the framework of the former humanitarian programme of the United Nations.

Russia is continuing, in the current difficult situation, to provide assistance for the rehabilitation of the Iraqi economy, and we firmly intend to continue to develop our economic cooperation with that country. We take note of the statements made by influential

Iraqi leaders as well as by countries of the region in support of the interim Government.

We believe that the Government will have an opportunity to realize the hopes held for it both inside and outside Iraq. Additionally, it is clear to us that only time will tell if the adoption of this resolution will help to achieve a turnaround in Iraq. The interim Government will need to prove its ability to govern the country independently and to establish a genuinely representative political process. In that respect, much will depend on whether the Iraqis themselves sense a real transition from a military occupation to a restoration of sovereignty and whether the interim Government can win the trust of the people and enlist the support of the international community, including Iraq's neighbours.

This consensual resolution brings the question of Iraq back into the political field of the United Nations. It will help to ensure that the efforts of the international community are pooled with a view to achieving a real settlement of the situation in Iraq, which remains an open wound in the Middle East and in world politics in general.

It is our firm belief that the key to resolving this problem lies in the collective efforts of States throughout the world. The Iraqi situation has made clear the universal and irreplaceable nature of the United Nations, which epitomizes international legitimacy. The task of organizing our joint efforts under United Nations auspices by advancing international relations is therefore more urgent now than ever before.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): The resolution just adopted is of historic importance for the future of Iraq. It marks the end of the occupation of that country and the beginning of a stage during which the Iraqis can once again take control of their political destiny, their natural resources and their sovereignty.

No negotiation can produce perfect results. This is the best possible resolution given current circumstances. I should like to express appreciation to the sponsors for the transparency that characterized the negotiating process, as well as for the continued openness to dialogue on the part of the delegations of the United States and the United Kingdom and for the constructive attitude taken by all members of the Council. My delegation is particularly pleased with the joint work done with the delegations of Brazil and Spain on certain proposed amendments that were jointly formulated and that were included in the text of the resolution.

The position of the Government of Chile with respect to the Iraq crisis has been coherent and pragmatic. The primary objective of our action in the Council following the military action has been, first, to help meet the humanitarian assistance needs of the people and, secondly, to put a speedy end to the military occupation and to establish a democratic and representative Government in a climate of stability and security that is conducive to the development and well-being of the Iraqi people.

This resolution is the theoretical and normative foundation of a new phase in Iraq. We will have to wait to see how that is translated, in practice, into a sovereign Government that can build a future based on the well-being of its people.

Violence will not automatically end in Iraq with this resolution or when the interim Government of Iraq takes power on 30 June. The peace-building process, which will be difficult, will be strengthened by the democratic election of its authorities in January 2005 and the full implementation of the timetable of the political process.

In the draft resolution that we have adopted we have tried to reflect as well as possible the full and effective transfer of sovereignty and authority to the interim Government of Iraq. At the same time, we support the institutional timetable, which will enable the holding of free, open and informed elections in order to have a fully legitimate and representative Government.

We welcome the incorporation of meaningful reference to international humanitarian law in the resolution, a subject on which my delegation has always insisted. We are satisfied with the agreement achieved to establish a security partnership between the Government of Iraq and the multinational force, with appropriate consultations on sensitive military operations and through which the Iraqi authorities will have effective control over their armed forces and security forces, which was a substantive item of my delegation's position.

We are aware of the limitations of the security situation prevailing on the ground and therefore of the need to authorize, for a limited period and at the

request of the sovereign Government of Iraq, the presence of a multinational force, which, with the Iraqi armed forces and security forces, will enable the establishment of a secure and stable environment.

Because we believe in the international multilateral system, we have also advocated that the United Nations have, in the resolution, a leadership role in the process of Iraqi political and institutional reconstruction, as well as in other areas as the situation allows. We believe that this resolution establishes with the necessary clarity the central responsibilities that the United Nations will have to assume in Iraq. Some of those responsibilities have already begun to be fulfilled on the ground through the excellent work of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, and the Director of the Electoral Assistance Division, Ms. Carina Perelli. The United Nations is once again at the focal point of assistance to Iraq, following a period of lack of understanding and division.

I would like to conclude by referring to a remarkably important fact — the unity of the Security Council. As the Secretary-General said yesterday in this Chamber, the Iraqi crisis represented for the international system one of the greatest conflicts since the end of the cold war, causing diverging opinions and varying views on how to resolve the problems being analysed. However, today, with the adoption of this resolution through the unanimous vote of the members of the Security Council, there is palpable evidence of the existing unity to achieve the best efforts that, we hope, will contribute to establishing a free, prosperous and democratic Iraq at peace with its neighbours and itself.

Mr. Yáñez Barnuevo (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Spain has voted in favour of Security Council resolution 1546 (2004), thus joining the consensus expressed by the members of the Council. The Spanish delegation has cooperated actively in the formation of that consensus, offering ideas and contributions to the process of drafting the text of the resolution together with other delegations, particularly those of Brazil and Chile.

For us, this is certainly not about the ideal resolution. Actually, Spain would have wanted the United Nations to have assumed guidance of the political and military process in Iraq and that it would have been possible to accelerate even more the political transition in Iraq to a fully normalized situation.

In any case, today an opportunity has opened up, one that we should all make use of. Thanks in great measure to the efforts of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General, Mr. Brahimi, on 1 July 2004 the interim Government of Iraq will regain the exercise of sovereignty, which, in keeping with the text of the resolution that we just adopted, should be understood in the broadest way possible — full authority to take all decisions considered relevant to all areas of governance.

In that spirit, my Government declares its willingness to cooperate with the new Iraqi Government. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain, Miguel Angel Moratinos, recently stated, "Spain will not remain indifferent to the present and future of Iraq, which will have our full support to ensure a united, stable, secure, democratic and prosperous Iraq". The Government will continue to firmly support the stability, democratization, territorial integrity and reconstruction of Iraq. In keeping with that principle, it will support activities, be they of the United Nations, the European Union or others, that offer a framework for international cooperation that contributes to the Iraqis recovering their full sovereignty, enables them to organize their elections freely and democratically and allow them to build their own future in peace, independence and security.

Spain has been promoting a more ambitious role for the United Nations in Iraq. The United Nations will continue its performance, essentially in complementing the political process, supporting preparations to hold a national conference and assisting the Independent Electoral Commission, as well as the interim and transitional Governments, in the preparation of the electoral processes. My Government believes that United Nations activities in Iraq must effectively help in the political transition process, which should include recognition of a clear and defined temporary time period to conclude its activities.

A fundamental aspect of the resolution that we have just adopted is related to the security architecture, referred to also in the letters addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Prime Minister of Iraq, Mr. Allawi, and by the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Powell. I would like to make a few brief comments in that regard.

My Government hopes that the agreements concluded from now on in the area of security between the interim Government and the multinational force will fully respect Iraqi sovereignty and will faithfully reflect the principle of authority that should govern the relationship between that Government and its armed forces and security forces. It also hopes that agreements will be reached soon on an operation policy that will enable the interim Government to affirm its authority in sensitive cases, so that its due control over the political process is maintained at all times. We also hope that in that context of authority and the exercise of sovereignty, the interim Government — with the assistance that each instance might require, including from the United Nations — will promote a national reconciliation process in which today's dissident elements will be gradually integrated and will be able to contribute to Iraq's stability and thus to that of the region.

Spain has always upheld the importance of the role played by the countries of the region in the process of fully reintegrating Iraq into the international community. Because of that, it has supported that the references made to the region in the text of the resolution be balanced, so that its special responsibility and the positive current and future contributions to the Iraqi reconstruction process are recognized. Spain also considers positive the idea of convening a future international conference on Iraq when deemed appropriate by the Iraqi Government.

In the economic field, my delegation believes that the resolution appropriately notes that the funds in the Development Fund for Iraq shall be disbursed at the discretion of the interim Government. This is a fundamental component of what we mean by full exercise of sovereignty. Moreover, the resolution extends the existence of the International Advisory and Monitoring Board. This would involve maintaining a structure that would shore up Iraq's economic credibility, and in which the interim Government of Iraq is appropriately represented.

With regard to humanitarian issues, Spain is pleased that the preambular part of the resolution notes the commitment of all forces to act in accordance with international law, including humanitarian law, and to cooperate with relevant international organizations. Spain would have liked this provision, which appeals to all parties to observe and ensure respect for such humanitarian principles, to have been included in the operative part of the resolution as well.

As members know, Spain has attached particular importance to the Security Council receiving periodic reports — quarterly if possible — from the multinational force as well as the reports submitted to the Council by the Secretary-General. We welcome the fact that the resolution has reflected that proposal.

We also deem it to be of great importance that the resolution, as requested by Spain and other members of the Council, sets 31 December 2005 as the deadline for the completion of the transitional political process and, therefore, the end of the presence of the multinational force. Spain considers that that force's presence in Iraq should be for as limited a time as possible.

Finally, we would like to thank the sponsors for the flexibility and willingness they demonstrated throughout the process of negotiating the resolution. We would also like to thank the other members of the Council for their constructive contributions and you, Mr. President, for having brought these difficult negotiations to a successful conclusion within such a short period of time.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): The resolution unanimously adopted today by the Security Council marks the end of the occupation of Iraq and the reassertion of all prerogatives of full sovereignty by the interim Government that will take office by 30 June.

Brazil participated in a constructive spirit in the negotiating process that led to the adoption of today's resolution, because we kept in mind the importance of the Security Council's decisions for the evolving situation on the ground in Iraq, and also their great relevance in terms of the expectations of the international community for the multilateral work of the Organization in general and of the Security Council in particular. Our overriding objective was to make this resolution a good one.

In that endeavour, together with Chile and Spain, Brazil presented a number of amendments to the draft text originally submitted by the sponsors. Those amendments were aimed mainly at sharpening the text of the draft resolution and at clarifying the nature of the situation it would create by establishing a new political and legal reality.

Among other points, Brazil has striven to stress the following: the transfer of full sovereignty and

authority to the interim Government; establishing the United Nations as a partner of the Government of Iraq in the provision of assistance to that Government; giving the United Nations a leading role in carrying out its tasks; emphasizing the importance of fulfilling international obligations in the area of human rights and humanitarian law; clearly establishing Iraqi control over the country's security forces, including its armed forces; differentiating between the circumstances of the presence of the multinational force in Iraq before and after the end of the occupation on 30 June, by clearly defining the scope of the presence of the multinational force and the reach of its mandate as regards security.

During the negotiations, the delegation of Brazil supported important proposals that were put forward by other members, and we are glad that many of them are reflected in the resolution we adopted today. I would also like to express my delegation's satisfaction with the flexibility shown by the original sponsors of the resolution, particularly in these last days as the consultation exercise was intensified.

The end result is not the best outcome conceivable, as many have said, in particular as regards the security arrangements involving the interim Government of Iraq, the multinational force and the protection force for the United Nations. However, in practical terms, as Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi described the political process he helped advance, this resolution is possibly the best outcome of the negotiating process, given the circumstances.

Mr. Motoc (Romania): What is now resolution 1546 (2004) was worked out in numerous meetings and lengthy discussions of the Security Council. We have the sponsors and all our other colleagues to thank for this outcome. This is also a good time to commend Secretary-General Kofi Annan and his Special Adviser, Lakhdar Brahimi, for the leadership and skilled diplomacy they have shown in a context that was not only exceptionally challenging but also, in many respects, uncharted territory.

Romania supported and sponsored resolution 1546 (2004) for three reasons. First, it is in our national interest to see that our selfless contribution to maintaining stability in Iraq and to shouldering the work of the country's political and institutional reconstruction is duly recognized and that it continues to be founded on the solid basis of a clear and workable United Nations mandate, backed by the wishes and requests of the Iraqi people and their representatives. The Romanian delegation pursued with particular resolve the goals of the Security Council, working out, through this resolution, an essential role for the United Nations in fostering the political processes ahead of us in Iraq and of further mobilizing the support of the international community for the bright, democratic, stable, independent and prosperous future that Iraqis have so truly deserved for such a long time. Romania is a part of the multinational force, but also shares with many other countries the task of preparing the future Iraqi security forces, in the expectation that they will soon take over, in the spirit of the resolution.

The second reason for our sponsorship of resolution 1546 (2004) has to do with the kind of approach followed by the Security Council in order to properly reflect the transfer of full and genuine sovereignty to the interim Iraqi Government and to chart the way for future political processes in Iraq. This approach amounted to constructive, genuine teamwork by Council members. Indeed, I do not know of any delegation that was not involved by contributing valuable proposals, suggestions and ideas for bettering this seminal text. I think that what we saw developing in the Security Council regarding this important topic was effective multilateralism in action.

We are satisfied that we achieved the main goals we set for our work. First, the resolution reflects the genuine and complete transfer of sovereignty into Iraqi hands on 30 June. Secondly, it provides for a leading role for the United Nations in Iraq. Thirdly, it articulates a workable partnership arrangement for the multinational force and the interim Government of Iraq to handle security challenges. Fourthly, what is now Security Council resolution 1546 (2004) has met with complete consensus, not only inside the Security Council, but also outside its realm, reaching out to all relevant stakeholders.

We have just come from the meeting convened by the Secretary-General with the Friends of Iraq. We have been encouraged by the appreciation expressed by States of the region and contributing countries for the ongoing stabilization and reconstruction efforts in Iraq.

With the transfer of sovereignty in Iraq on 30 June, an important historic step will be taken towards the completion of the political transition there. At the same time, Romania will assume the functions of

President of the Security Council. In addition to what have already undertaken in support of the aspirations to freedom and prosperity of the Iraqi people, Romania will stand ready in that capacity to assist in the process opening up ahead for the Iraqis and their many friends around the world.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): Angola voted in favour of the resolution and we are proud to be part of the consensus reached within the Security Council in adopting that seminal text. This was a wish that we expressed from the very beginning of our consultations. With this, we have done justice to the validity and vitality of multilateralism. When things looked so dark in Iraq, the United Nations played the role that only it could play — a vital and unifying role. We are poised to emerge from the crisis with a stronger United Nations ready to act in providing the answers when needed.

Today's resolution clearly provides for the partnership of Iraqis and the international community. Angola proudly commends the Secretary-General for the wisdom and leadership he has once again demonstrated. Angola is proud to praise the statesmanship and self-reliance of Lakhdar Brahimi, as well as his ability to listen to Iraqis and so faithfully to translate their messages to the international community.

Resolution 1546 (2004), which we have just adopted, represents a clear departure from earlier Security Council resolutions 1483 (2003) and 1511 (2003). We are indeed grateful to the sponsors for their willingness to respond to the concerns raised during the consultations. Indeed, the spirit of give and take which characterized our negotiations resulted in a better and clearer resolution, and also a stronger Security Council.

Resolution 1546 (2004) provides for the restoration of full sovereignty to Iraq, based on its independence and unity; the right of the Iraqi people freely to determine their own political future and to control over their natural resources; the need for the continued presence of a multinational force, in partnership with the Iraqi authorities and in full respect for their sovereignty; and a clear role for and the importance of the United Nations in the political process, including beyond the elections.

The continued support of the international community, and especially of the neighbouring countries, is critical to helping the Iraqi people to meet the challenges ahead. Today's resolution stresses that important point, and Lakhdar Brahimi, in his wisdom, reinforces and reminds us of the importance of this support. We are confident that the Iraqi people will emerge from the democratic process with renewed strength to tackle the key national challenges: the consolidation of peace and stability, long-term national reconciliation and economic recovery.

Mr. Adechi (Benin) (*spoke in French*): Resolution 1546 (2004), which we have just adopted unanimously, paves the way for the effective restoration of Iraqi sovereignty, as called for in the timetable for the political process. We welcome the positive developments in the negotiations that led to the adoption of the resolution, which establishes a normative framework for the end of the occupation, the restoration of the full sovereignty of Iraq and the conditions in which the multinational force will undertake its work in that country. We commend the open-mindedness shown by the sponsors of the resolution throughout the negotiations.

We believe that it is now up to the new Government of Iraq to assume its responsibilities by ensuring that the established machinery works adequately. We call on it to strive to win the trust of all Iraqis so as to involve as many of them as possible in the political process and thereby ensure that the elections of January 2005 enjoy all the necessary credibility. We also emphasize the importance of the methodical organization of the national conference, which must be held in a spirit of national reconciliation. In that respect, it can make an important contribution to ensuring the inclusiveness of the political process.

Finally, we urgently appeal to the international community to provide all the necessary assistance to the people of Iraq in order to help them meet the challenges they are facing. The neighbouring countries should also fully shoulder their responsibilities in the context of the joint efforts necessary to stabilizing the situation on the ground. It is in their interests that the situation in Iraq be normalized as soon as possible.

The President: I shall now make a brief statement in my capacity as representative of the Philippines.

Yesterday, we were divided on Iraq. Today, we are united on Iraq. It is a great day, therefore, for Iraq, the Security Council, the United Nations and the international community. The Philippines is

particularly pleased that this eloquent expression of unity on Iraq has happened during our presidency. In many significant ways, the resolution just adopted validates the Philippine position of unwavering support for a free, democratic, pluralistic and united Iraq.

We can congratulate ourselves on the house we have built for Iraq. We built it with transparency and inclusiveness, which led to the unanimous adoption of the important resolution. The foundations of a lasting edifice are in the resolution: the transfer of full sovereignty come 30 June; the leading role of the United Nations in assisting in the political process towards a constitutional Government; and Iraq's ownership of its security policies, financial and natural resources and other attributes of sovereignty.

The challenge now for Iraq and the international community is to translate into action what is laid down in the resolution and to nurture its plan of action on the ground. We are confident that, given the atmosphere of accommodation and understanding in the Council and the interest and concern which this resolution has elicited from a great number of States, this challenge can be met with success. We are happy to have been part of the negotiation of the historic resolution 1546 (2004) and to have voted in its favour.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.